How Far Inland Did the Arm of the Slave Trade Reach?
An Overview of the Slave Trade in Togo
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This paper attempts to pull together various sources relating to the slave trade in Togo. Togo is here defined in terms of its current boundaries and therefore does not include the former British Togo that is now part of Ghana. Because of its historical links to Aneho (Anecho), Agoué is included, even though it is now part of Bénin. While diverse scholars have dealt with elements of the slave trade in Togo, no one has pulled these elements together into a single paper, although Gayibor (1997) certainly touches on most of them.

This paper is by no means exhaustive and focuses primarily on: 1) the Hausa caravans passing through northern and central Togo and their links with the slave market of Salaga (and its earlier analogs) in Ghana; 3) slave raiding and trading in northern Togo by the Tyokossi, Dagomba, Bariba, Kotokoli and Djerma, and their impact on such peoples as the Konkomba, Bassar, Gangan (Dye), Lamba, and Kabiye (and Logba), including the probability that some ended up as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade; 3) the probable slave routes from northern Togo to the coast, including routes from Tchamba and Agbandi; and, 4) the slave trade along the Slave Coast at Aneho (Petit Popo), Agoué and Porto Seguro (Agbodrafo). When possible, the probable ethnicities of the slaves are given, especially in connection with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. It is recognized that these topics are interrelated and that discussing them separately is somewhat arbitrary. No attempt has been made to document all of the numerous migrations in and out of and within Togo that resulted from the repercussions of the slave trade, nor has there been an attempt to cover all groups who held slaves resulting from the slave trade. Finally, the term kingdom is used somewhat loosely as it is in the historical and local literature for the coastal communities of Togo and elsewhere on the Slave Coast (see Skalnik 2003).

The Hausa Kola Caravans to the Volta Basin, Especially to Salaga

Trade relations between the Niger Bend and the Hausa city states go back at least until the late 14th century. At this time Wangara merchants (also known as Djula) began to spread out from the Niger Bend southward toward the Ivory Coast (Kong), the Volta Basin in Ghana (Begho), and eastward toward the Mossi states in Burkina Faso, into Borgu in northern Bénin and eastern Nigeria, and to the Hausa city states in northern Nigeria, bringing both their commerce and Islam. The Hausa, especially during the 18th and 19th century, moved in opposite directions to the west and southwest (Lovejoy

1982:253-256; Adekunle 1994:14). In time, three principal routes would develop between Hausaland and the Volta Basin (Levtzion 1968:24), with varying itineraries and varying Hausa city state terminal points depending upon changes in the political and economic landscape over the centuries (Figure 1). The most northerly route passed through Burkina Faso, the central route through northern Togo (Mango), and the southern route through central Togo, sometimes passing through the Bassar Region and sometimes through the Fazao Mountains (Figures 2 and 3). The earliest centers for gold and kola in the Akan forests included Begho (Bigho) and Nkoranza, but the rise of the Asante state led to a restructuring of the trade. After the destruction of Begho in the 1720s, Bonduku became the major terminus from the Niger Bend; Buipe (Gbuipe) to the west and Kafaba to the east, both on the Volta River, would became the major trade centers for caravans coming from the Mossi States and Hausaland to the north and east (Lovejoy 1982:253). After 1800 the Asante state sought new sources of revenue after the closure of the Atlantic slave trade on the coast. After they crushed a rebellion of the Gonja town of Gbuipe in 1802, they set up a new trade center at Salaga in the first decade of the 19th century near the provincial capital of Kpembe, which may have been a former Hausa transit stop for the caravans of the 18th century (Lovejoy 1982:254). Salaga would continue as a major trade center for kola and slaves until the late 19th century.

According to Levtzion (1968:17-18), there are indications of trade between Hausaland and the Volta Basin in Ghana before the end of the 16th century, but Dramani-Issifou (1981) suggests that trade on the southern route through Djugu may go back to the late 14th or early 15th centuries. According to Gayibor (1997:284), the Chronicle of Kano (as translated by Palmer 1909:109) notes that the king of Kano, Abdoulaye Burja (1438-1452), initiated the trade route between Bornu in northeastern Nigeria and Gonja in the Volta Basin in the 15th century. It was also during the 15th century that popular Islam penetrated Katsina under Muhammad Korau (Adekunle 1994:4). An Arabic text by *faqi* Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu notes in 1615 that Hausa trade routes pass through the lands of the Bariba [Barba] (Borgu region of northern Bénin), the Kotokoli [Katacoly], and Dagomba [Dakemba], which suggests the southernmost route. This text was written to the Sultan of Morocco who was interested to know what pagan peoples could be raided for slaves (see Dramani-Issifou 1981:149-159; Gayibor 1997:284).

Northern Route

The northern route passed west from Hausaland (Kano or Katsina; Sokoto in the 19th century) in Nigeria, crossing the Niger River at Say in Niger or at Gwandu (Malanville) in Bénin, and then continued on through Fada N'Gurma, Kupela, and Wagadugu in Burkina Faso (Levtzion 1968:24; Lovejoy 1980; de Barros 1985:325-326; Gayibor 1997:285-286). From there routes headed south from Wagadugu and Kupela to Gambaga, Yendi, and finally into the Volta Basin (Figure 1). This would have meant

Figure 1: Major Hausa Kola Routes to the Volta Basin

Figure 2: Routes Through Togo

Figure 3: Southern Hausa Kola Routes Through Togo, 18th & 19th Centuries (detail map)

coming to Nkoranza or Begho prior to the 18th century; Kafaba or Buipe in the 18th century; Salaga during the 19th century, and finally Kete-Kratchi during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This northern route is likely to have supplied slaves directly to the trans-Saharan trade and indirectly to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, but it did not pass through Togo.

Central Route

This route also departed from Hausaland (from Kano, Katsina, and especially Sokoto in the 19th century), passed through Jega in Nigeria, crossed the Niger River at Gaya (Niger) or Illo (Illo Kingdom in Nigeria and Bénin), then passed through Kandi and Kwande (Bariba chiefdoms under the sway of Nikki) in the Borgu region of northern Bénin, then through Gando and Sansanne-Mango (Tyokossi kingdom) in northern Togo, and on to Yendi and Salaga in the Volta Basin (Levtzion 1968:24; Lovejoy 1980; de Barros 1985:325-326; Gayibor 1997:286; Adekunle 1994:9-10). Gayibor (1997:286) speaks of another route from Hausaland via Yawuri (Yelwa) in Nigeria to Kwande to Mango (Figure 1).

Around 1764 (Norris 1984:164), the Tyokossi established a slave-raiding kingdom at Kondjogo on the Oti River, a Hausa caravan stop along the central route, and the town would become known as Sansanne-Mango (Levtzion 1968:79; Norris 1984; Gayibor 1997:286, 292). However, contrary to Dramani-Issifou (1981), Lovejoy (1980:35) believes the central and southern routes were not very important prior to the 18th century. Referring to the period after the arrival of the Tyokossi, Gayibor (1997:301-302) describes other routes linking Mango to Tenkodogo and Fada N-Gurma in Burkina Faso to the north, and to Say along the Niger via Tanquieta (Borgu region of Bénin) to the northeast (see Norris 1986:109-136).

Southern Route

This route began in Hausaland (Kano, Zaria, Sokoto). Levtzion (1968:24) at first says the route passed through Nupe in the middle belt of Nigeria to the south, then westwards through Nikki in the Borgu region of Bénin, and then on to Djugu, the Kotokoli lands, and on to Yendi and Salaga (Figure 1). However, he then describes a map with a slightly different route based on data provided by Lucas (1790):

> This was the first route described by Europeans. It appears on the map drawn by Major Rennel according to information furnished by Lucas. It reads: Cashna [Katsina] – Youri – Gangoo Domboo – Nykee – Zeggo [Djoujou] – Kottokolee – Kombah [Konkomba] – Dagomba – Gonjah (the brackets are Levtzion's). (Levtzion 1968:24; see de Barros 1985:325)

For the names listed, Youri is Yawuri (also known as Yelwa), Nykee is clearly Nikki, Kottokolee is Kotokoli, and Dagomba would refer to Yendi. Gonjah could refer to the Gonja towns of Kafaba or Buipe as these trading towns were not eclipsed by Salaga until the first decade of the 19th century. Gangoo Domboo (?) would be in Nigeria between Yawuri and Nikki. Yawuri has been placed on the central route by Gayibor (1997:286) and on the southern route by Levtzion (1968:24). It may have been involved in both routes. What is not included is the alternative route through Bussa described by Lovejoy 1980 (see Gayibor 1997:282). As noted below, Bussa was a major Bariba kingdom in the 18th century, which was reduced in importance by Nikki in the 19th century (Crowder 1978:152).

Leaving aside the descent into Nupe, which is south of the main routes, we can summarize this basic southern route as follows: from Hausaland the route passed through western Nigeria through either Yawuri or Bussa (Borgu) on the banks of the Niger River, then to Nikki in eastern Bénin, then on to the Gurma chiefdom at Djugu and Semere in west central Bénin, before it linked up with various routes traversing central Togo on the way to Yendi and Salaga (Levtzion 1968:24; de Barros 1985:325). The routes through Togo (see Figures 2 and 3) varied in importance according to political and economic changes, particularly in the Kotokoli and Bassar regions (Levtzion 1968:21-22, 24; Norris 1984:165; de Barros 1985:325-330; de Barros 1986:166; Gayibor 1997:286-290). Lovejoy (1980:35) does not believe this route was very important until after the creation of the Gurma dynasty in Djugu and the Kotokoli and Bassar chiefdoms in central Togo, developments which took place primarily during the 18th century (de Barros 1985:330-337). The 18th century also saw the rise of the Wasangari, whose traditions link them to Bornu in northeast Nigeria (Crowder 1978:152). They formed kingdoms over the local Borghawa (Bariba), first at Bussa along the Niger in Nigeria and later at Illo (Nigeria) and Nikki in northern Bénin (Adekunle 1994:6-10; Crowder 1978:152-153,180; Akinwumi 1998). On a side note, the slaves of the Wasangari were known as *gando*, which is the name of two villages, one in Togo (Gando east of Mango; see Figures 2 and 3) and one south of Bassila in western Bénin (Crowder 1978:182).

The rising influence of Islam beginning in the 18th century, and especially the 1804 jihad led by Uthman dan Fodio in Hausaland which led to the banning of alcohol in many Hausa towns, resulted in the greatly increased demand for kola nuts as a substitute stimulant (Wilks 1971:129-130; Lovejoy 1980:2-5). Levtzion (1968:25,119) and Norris (1984:166,181) argue that most of the trade between Hausaland and the Volta Basin during the 19th century took place using the southern route to Salaga, because kola is a perishable commodity and the southern route is the shortest. Levtzion (1968:25) also notes that the northern most route(s) had become quite dangerous for caravans during the 19th century (de Barros 1985:331-332).

There were two principle pathways through central Togo, one through the Bassar region and other through the Fazao region. Each is discussed separately below.

Route Through the Bassar Region. Levtzion (1968:24), Norris (1984:162) and de Barros (1985:325-337) have established that Hausa caravans traveled through the Bassar region, as early as the late 18th century [see also Bowdich (1819:491) and Dupuis (1824:cxxiv), as cited in Levtzion 1968:118ff)]. This variant of the southern route passed from Djugu to Semere and then through Kotokoli territory – via Bafilo (Kotokoli chiefdom) and the Dawude Mountains (through Dako) – and then eastward through Bassar and Bitchabe in Bassar territory and to Sansugu (former Konkomba territory) in Ghana. From Sansugu (Sansugo, Zabzugu), caravans either went to Salaga via Yendi to the northwest or via Nakpali and Bimbila to the southwest (Figures 2 and 3). Martinelli (1982:78-82) emphasizes the importance of Hausa caravans that passed through the Kabu chiefdom (founded in the 1850s) to the north and onwards to Bandjeli. De Barros (1985:328, 330; 1986:166) and Jean-Claude Barbier (1984, p.c.) have argued that this was a relatively late development (ca. 1900), but Gayibor (1997:364), citing von Doering (1895), argues for an earlier beginning. This could be true to the extent that the Dagomba attacks on Bassar in the 1870s may have rendered the route through Bassar too risky for a time (de Barros 1985:653-656; 2001:69). In any event, oral traditions collected in the Bassar region make it clear that Hausa caravans continued to pass through Bassar and Bitchabe around 1900 (Norris 1984:168,178; de Barros 1985:329-330), with some 30,000 Hausa merchants travelling through each dry season. Sicre (1918:115) confirms the later use of the Bassar route.

Routes Through the Fazao Mountains. When political instability made the Bassar route untenable, alternative routes were used across the Fazao Mountains to the southwest. Gayibor (1997:286) suggests an early route from Tabalo in the Malfakassa Mountains that headed southwest down to and across the Mo River plain and then across the Fazao Mountains. While this is plausible, there is no documentation to support this. The more substantially documented routes through Fazao have been studied by Barbier (1984, p.c.) and Gayibor (1997:286-290), though the latter cites no sources. The routes do make sense, however, based on the terrain and the vicissitudes of the various Kotokoli chiefdoms.

These routes passed through Djugu and Aledjo-Kura in western Bénin to Kri-Kri (Ajdeide) in eastern Togo. From there, two routes developed to the Fazao Mountains via the Mo River plain: one went through Agulu (Agoulou), Kpasuwa (Passoua),Tchavade, and Sokode (Didaure), and the second through Tchamba, Paratao, Kadambara and Sokode (Didaure)(Figure 3).

Once the Fazao Mountains were reached, the descent to the Volta Basin to the west went through Tashi (for caravans) or Buluwo (Bulo)/Suruku (foot travelers) and on to Djarakpana (Djerekpanga) to Bimbila and Salaga (Barbier 1984, p.c.).

After the decline of Salaga in the late 19th century, caravan routes (and accompanying slave traffic) often bypassed Salaga and went through Kete-Kratchi from either Fazao or from Yendi through Bimbila (Wilks 1971:131; Klose 1964:40,107; Sicre 1918; de Barros 1985:327). From Kete-Kratchi, the route continued (with slaves often disguised as migrant labor) into the southern parts of the Gold Coast (Ghana) and via Kpandu into Togo to Kpalime and on to Lome (Johnson 1986:349-351; Akurang-Parry 2002:45-46). This continued into the early 20th century. Johnson (1986:351) cites a letter by the German philologist-trader G. A. Krause (1890) which describes the arrival of a slave caravan in Lomé bringing at least 50 slaves, including 10 brought by the "black Arab" Sherif Ibrahim and seven brought by the Bornu prince Bebedshi.

The Salaga Slave Market and Slave Origins

Salaga was created as a major exchange center for kola and slaves (and other goods) by the Asante in the first decade of the 19th century. It became a hub for trade routes from nearly all directions (Johnson 1986:342), and there is little doubt that some of the slaves arriving in Salaga eventually became part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Lovejoy 2000; Johnson 1986; Akurang-Parry 2002; Wilks 1993). Salaga was in the Gonja kingdom under the authority of a local Gonja "sultan" or "king" living a few miles away at Kpembe (Johnson 1986:341). The town was inhabited primarily by Muslim immigrants, but non-Muslims were also important (Lovejoy 1982:249-250). It had a population ranging from 20,000 during the non-trading rainy season to as high as 50,000 during the dry trading period. Hausa was the lingua franca (Johnson 1986:342). According to Adekunle (1994:9), the caravan journey from Hausaland to the Volta Basin took five to six months. While many products were traded at Salaga, it was primarily a slave market before 1874, and slaves continued to pass through Salaga until the end of the 19th century (Akurang-Parry 2002:33-34). Slave traffic ranged from 100 slaves to up to 1-2,000 slaves per caravan. They were purchased primarily with kola nuts, but cowries were also used. While some slaves were brought to Salaga by their captors during war, the great majority came via Mossi and Hausa caravans (Johnson 1986:343-347). While some slaves may have originated in Hausaland and neighboring regions, Johnson (1986:348) suggests the majority were bought en route with Hausa cloth and leatherwork trade items. Gold, salt, and livestock may have also been traded or obtained along the route (Lovejoy 1982:265-266). Most of the slaves sold in Salaga were exchanged for kola nuts provided by the Asante or their agents. Slaves obtained from the northern areas were known as *ndonko* who were viewed as unlikely to flee and also could not claim kin ties with the Akan. These slaves were used in the central

portions of the Asante Kingdom in the production of agriculture and gold as well as the collection and packaging of kola nuts (Lovejoy 1982:271).

According to Johnson (1986:346), most of the slaves arriving in Salaga were "gurunshi" (Grunshi) – a generic term for acephalous or weakly-centralized populations from both sides of the Ghana and Burkina Faso border; however, some slaves were brought to Salaga as the result of local raids in the Togo Hills or as a result of warring between Dagomba towns. The Jaberima (Djerma) raiders under Gajare also raided the Konkomba (also Grunshi), and in 1887, R.E. Firminger, a colonial official in Ghana, reported a caravan from Mango of Grunshi slaves captured by these same raiders (see Johnson 1986:347ff). In 1894 Klose (1964:51,80) noted the presence of Bassar slaves in farming villages near Kete-Kratchi and stated it was the Dagomba who provided most of the slaves sold at the important kola market at Salaga (de Barros 1985:653; 2001:69). In short, while Johnson (1986) refers to the gurunshi as coming primarily from Ghana and Burkina Faso, it is clear they also came from Togo. Additional information on slave origins is provided below in the discussion of Dagomba slave raiding activities in northern Togo.

Slave Raiding in Northern Togo

During the late 18th and 19th centuries, the principal slave raiding groups in northern Togo included the Dagomba in Ghana, the Tyokossi based at Sansanne-Mango (Togo), the Bariba from Bénin, and possibly the Gurma whose dynasty controlled Djugu (Bénin), which was a major slave market during this period. In addition, Djerma mercenaries allied with various chiefdoms, especially the Kingdom of Tchaoudjo under Djobo Bukari, also pillaged for slaves. The acephalous or weakly-centralized peoples that fell victim to these slave raids in Togo included the Konkomba, Bassar, Lamba, Nawda, Kabiye (and Logba), Ngangam (or Dye), and the Moba.

The Dagomba (and Gonja) of Ghana

As discussed elsewhere (de Barros 1985:653-656; 2001:68-69), the Gonja and Dagomba states had periodically raided the Konkomba and Bassar for cattle and slaves since at least the 17th century (Tamakloe 1931:260). After the Asante conquest of the Gonja and Dagomba states in the 18th century, both peoples began to raid the Bassar and Konkomba ever more intensively to meet Asante tribute demands. Wilks (1975:431-432) estimates the total annual tribute from both states to be on the order of 5,000 slaves, 2000 cows, and 4,000 sheep, with Dagomba alone owing 2,000 slaves, 800 cattle, and 1,600 sheep (Wilks 1975:432; see also Rattray 1932:564-565). The Konkomba east of the Oti River, including those in Togo, were heavily raided (Tait 1961:8-12). In fact, the Dagomba chiefdoms of Sunson, Demon, and Sansugu were

military outputs for launching slave raids against the Konkomba and Bassar (Tait 1961:11; de Barros 1985:653).

Bassar oral traditions strongly emphasize the Dagomba attacks, which include those of 1856 (Tamakloe 1931; Cornevin 1957:85; Froelich and Alexandre 1960:259-260) and multiple attacks after 1867, including a three year siege of the town of Bassar in the 1870s (Wilks 1975:67-68, 305-306; Cornevin 1962a:57). Dagomba traditions speak of the Bassar chiefdom as providing tribute in the form of hoes (Rattray 1932:580; see Dugast 1992:62), and similar echoes have been noted for Bandjeli for this period (Klose 1903a:309). Some of the captured Bassar and Konkomba slaves may have become domestic servants or field hands among the Gonja and Dagomba, but the majority would clearly have been handed over to the Asante. The bulk of these slaves would have been used to help settle new agricultural lands or to work as domestic servants and porters, but surplus slaves were often sold to the coastal markets for trade to the Europeans (Wilks 1993:76-78, 223-229; de Barros 2001:69).

While discussing slave sources for the Asante during the period between 1837-1842, Lovejoy (2000:161-162, using La Torre 1978), notes that in a sample of 657 slaves purchased by the Dutch seeking army recruits, 21.6 percent came from the northern provinces of the Asante empire [Dagomba, Gonja, Mamprussi, and acephalous peoples (gurunshi) raided by the former groups in northern Ghana]; 54.5 percent were brought in from the Mossi states; 7.7 percent were Gurma (probably captured by slave caravans on their way from Hausaland, including three identified as being from “northern Togo”); and 14.6 percent from as far away as the Sokoto Caliphate and its neighbors (Hausa, Bornu, Adamawa, Songhay and Yoruba). The Sokoto contingent is likely to have included slaves from populations who were also sent across the Sahara (Holden 1965, 1970, cited in Lovejoy 2000:162).

The Asante lost control of its northern provinces after its defeat at the hands of the British in 1873-74, which resulted in a local rebellion of the Gonja at Salaga who slaughtered hundreds of Akan residents (Lovejoy 1982:257). However, the British made no attempt to stop the slave trade at Salaga until the early 20th century, and even recruited Salaga slaves for its colonial forces as late as the early 1880s (Akurang-Parry 2002:40; Lovejoy 2000:258, 261). Only after Salaga was devastated by civil war in 1893 did it truly decline in favor of Kete-Kratchi to the south (Lovejoy 1982:257-258).

The Tyokossi of Togo

The Tyokossi (Anufo) consist of a group of Mande warriors led by the Wattara of the royal family of the Kong kingdom and a larger group of followers speaking Agni or Baoule (Cornevin 1962b:67). This combination resulted from responding to an appeal from the king of the Gonja state in 1750 to help defeat internal and/or external threats

(Norris 1986:114; see Dugast 1992:63). They later moved east and established a war camp at Sansanne-Mango in ca. 1764 at Kondjogo, a former Hausa trading stop. After subduing the local Gangan (Ngangam or Dye) populations in the Oti River valley, they spent about a decade destroying the former capital of the Gurma confederation in southern Burkina Faso. During this time they also subdued the Moba, which include important Mamprussi and Gurma elements, of northern Togo. Both the Gangan and Moba were forced to produce food as tribute for the Tyokossi who did no farming (Norris 1986:132; Froelich 1954:251; see also Dugast 1992:81).

In the 1790s, the Tyokossi turned their attention to the south, attacking the Gurma and other populations at Djugu and Aledjo-Kura in western Bénin, the Kotokoli in Bafilo and Dawude, and the Konkomba and Bassar in west central Togo (de Barros 1985:656-657; Edward Norris 1984, p.c.; Barbier 1984, p.c.) – primarily in search of slaves. Gayibor (1997:297) also discusses Tyokossi raids on the Lamba and on populations as far south as the Anyanga in Blitta (Figures 2 and 3). Tyokossi oral traditions claim they succeeded in subduing the Bassar, perhaps in the early 19th century, and the Bassar may have paid tribute for a time (Norris 1984, p. c.; Klose 1903b:309); however, Bassar traditions do not confirm this. At contact with German colonialists, the Tyokossi kingdom and its sphere of influence included northern Togo as far south as the Konkomba at Guerin-Kuka, but it did not include the Bassar or the Kotokoli. According to Norris (1986:20, cited in Dugast 1992:735), the Tyokossi sometimes sold their slaves in Gambaga (Ghana) or sometimes in Bassar – the latter during the late 19th century when they may have been allied with the Bassar against Dagomba attacks (Dugast 1992:705-709).

The Bariba and Gurma from Bénin

The Bariba occupy much of central and north Bénin and a portion of western Nigeria in a region referred to as Borgu. There were once important kingdoms ruled by the Wasangari dynasties (see above) centered on Bussa, Nikki and Illo, with lesser chiefdoms at Kwande and Kandi and elsewhere. Both the central and southern Hausa kola routes passed through portions of their territory (Figure 1).

Gayibor (1997:314-315) discusses Bariba activities in Togo in some detail. According to Froelich and Alexandre (1960:261), the Bariba conducted slave raids against Tchamba between 1850 and 1860, which only managed to fight them off with the help of an alliance with the Kotokoli of Tchaoudjo and the Bassar. These Bariba slave raids are confirmed by Person (1956:59) who speaks of an alliance between the Bariba of Kwande and the Gurma dynasty at Djugu in the 1860s and 1870s; he notes that slave raids also occurred against Adjeide (Kri-Kri) and Bafilo, as well as the eastern Kabiye (Gayibor 1997:105). Person (1956) notes that Djugu was a major slave market during the 19th century (Gayibor 1997:105). Tchamba was also raided during the late 19th

century by the chiefdoms of Aledjo-Kura and Bassila (in Bénin) and Kussuntu (Togo). War captives were then sold at the slave market at Agbandi (Anyanga territory) to the south (Froelich and Alexandre 1960:261) (see Figures 2 and 3).

The Kotokoli of Togo and the Djerma of Bénin

The Djerma are part of the Songhay peoples along the Niger River in western Niger and eastern Burkina Faso. In the second half of the 19th century, Levtzion (1968:152) states that the Djerma migrated southwards and often worked as mercenaries for chiefs in northern Bénin, in the Kotokoli area, and in Dagomba country. Here we are concerned with a group of Djerma cavalry (*sémassi*) that installed themselves in the area of Adjeide (Kri-Kri) around 1885 and engaged in conflict with the forces of Djugu, Aledjo-Kura, and Tchamba for several years (Barbier 1987, cited in Gayibor 1997:314-315). Many Djerma would remain in the general Djugu area, but two groups would head west.

According to Dugast (1992:76-77, 737-741), the Djerma first worked as mercenaries for the Dagomba and then set up their own base for brutal slave raiding amongst the Konkomba and other gurunshi in Ghana and Togo (Rouche 1990:13). While some of the Djerma captives were forced into their army or forced to work the fields of the Djerma, others were sold into slavery to the Mossi or Hausa in exchange for horses (Rey-Hulman 1975:307). Like the Tyokossi, conquered areas were forced to pay tribute (Rouche 1990:17). The second group of Djerma served as mercenaries for various chiefdoms in the Djugu region of Bénin and the Kotokoli area of Togo (Dugast 1992:740-741). The most important stage of their wanderings developed when they became mercenaries for Djobo Bukari, the paramount chief of Tchaoudjo who took the throne in 1880. Under Bukari the Kotokoli chiefdom became much more centralized with tribute demanded from its component chiefdoms. The Kotokoli, allied with the Djerma *sémassi*, proceeded to raid both the Kabiye-Logba to the east, the Bassar to west and southwest, and generally succeeded in depopulating much of the plains south of the Kotokoli chiefdom, including other Tem groups (Pillet-Schwartz 1986:319; see Dugast 1992:77). Gayibor 1997:347) suggests the Djerma *sémassi* mercenaries raided populations to get slaves and booty for themselves as well.

The Kotokoli also sought to take control of the Anyanga of Agbandi who were taxing those seeking to go to Sagada for salt (Gayibor 1997:348). The Tchaoudjo chiefdom, under Uro Kura around 1879, tried to capture this area so they could control commercial traffic to the south, but they were initially defeated. However, under Djobo Bukari, a counterattack in 1893 with the help of the Djerma mercenaries resulted in the destruction of the Agbandi area (Gayibor 1997:348). The Kotokoli took control of Blitta and the Anyanga had to pay tribute beginning in 1894 (von Doering 1895). Gayibor (1997:366) also notes that the Djerma sometimes took slaves across the Fazao Mountains westward into Ghana and then southward to the Kete-Kratchi slave market.

The Kotokoli were also involved in the export of slaves to the south (Alexandre 1963:273; see Dugast 1992:737).

The Bassar and the Kabiye of Togo

The Bassar region is famous for its ironworking industry which goes back to at least 400 B.C. (de Barros 2003, 2009), with the region becoming a major iron exporter after the late 13th century (de Barros 1986). A combination of its relatively good soils when compared to the neighboring Konkomba, Kotokoli, and Kabiye (Le Cocq 1984,1986), and the Bassar ironworker's ability to trade iron bloom and iron tools for food, slaves, and other goods, resulted in the Bassar being relatively well off compared to their neighbors. According to Dugast (1992:734; see also de Barros 1985:64), the Bassar obtained slaves in three ways: 1) as captives in war; 2) as a payment for a debt from the Kotokoli or even from other Bassar; and, 3) by trading for them from the Kabiye. War captives were either sold to the Kotokoli directly or taken to the Yumabwa ("river of the slaves") at the southern boundary of the Kotokoli territory where there was a big slave market (its precise location is not known; see Figure 3). There they were washed before being sold by the Kotokoli to the people in Agbandi and Kpessi (Barbier (1987:354ff; see Dugast 1992:737).

The Kabiye suffered from problems of relatively poor soils and very high population densities, particularly in the southern part of their territory. While they made iron tools and pottery for trade for food and iron bloom, they often exchanged some of their children as slaves for food or cowries, not only in the slave market of Kabu in the later 19th century, but also at the markets of Djugu and Semere (Barbier 1987:75) and sometimes with the Konkomba (Tait 1961:98; see Dugast 1992:188ff). Most frequently, the Kabiye exchanged children for cowries in Kabu which they then used to exchange for iron bloom in Bandjeli to the west. The German geologist Hupfeld (1900, cited in Gayibor 1997:102) noted that the Kabiye were constantly falling prey to raids by the Kotokoli of Bafilo and Dako (Dawude), and by the Bassar chiefdom at Kabu. Finally, it appears the Kabiye also went to the Kotokoli markets at Bafilo and Dako (Dawude), which were also slave markets, and that Kabiye war captives and/or Kabiye slaves provided by the Kabiye themselves may have been sold there as well (Gayibor 1997:115; see Frobenius 1913:153; Klose 1899, 1903a).

North-South Axis from Central Togo to the Coast

Slaves obtained through raids by the Tyokossi, Djerma, Kotokoli, and probably the Bariba and Gurma, sometimes made their way south to the Togolese coast. The starting points for this trade route were Tchamba and probably Agbandi.

Tchamba and the Route to the Coast

The following is primarily based on Gayibor (1997:308-315). The Tchamba (Kasselem) chiefdom is a multiethnic community founded in the first half of the 18th century by a Konkomba and his brother from Katchamba in Togo (Apoudjak 1988). The Konkomba were later joined by a large number of Bassar and Tem (Kotokoli), as well some Bariba from Bénin and Mande groups from Bénin and Togo (Traore, Fofana, Ouattara). Islam was introduced around 1850 and Muslim merchants became increasingly common in the latter part of the 19th century. Gayibor (1997:310,313) correctly emphasizes that Tchamba almost certainly developed quickly into a major, multi-ethnic commercial center of perhaps 40-45,000 people (Mischlich 1950:82) because of its location on both the southern Hausa kola route to the Volta Basin (see above) and a north-south route ending on the Slave Coast of Togo and Bénin (see also Goeh-Akue 1999)(Figures 1-3). According to Mischlich in 1896 (1950:82), the Tchamba market had numerous weavers and was frequented by large numbers of traders, including the Yoruba and others from Bénin, as well as the Tem of Tchaoudjo who sought ivory there (von Doering 1895:255; see Gayibor 1997:313). As discussed earlier, Tchamba's wealth incited others to attack and/or lay siege to the town in order to control its market during the late 19th century.

Adotevi (2001:122), in his discussion of the ethnic origins of slaves reaching the Slave Coast in Togo, states that coastal oral traditions mention the Adja of the Middle Mono River valley; the Kotokoli (Tem), Kabiye and Moba of northern Togo; the Mossi of Burkina Faso; the Mahi and Bariba of the south central and northern Bénin, respectively; the Yoruba of Nigeria (and presumably Bénin); and the Tchamba. He emphasizes that the term "Tchamba" is used in a generic way to refer to slave origins, sometimes referring to the town, sometimes to the region, sometimes referring to those from Tchamba, and sometimes to those from the region or anyone captured and sold as a slave at the Tchamba market. Adotevi goes on to state that

> [Tchamba,] located at the source of the Mono River and near the left bank of the river, was a holding center for slaves, a central market where Hausa and Bariba horsemen, Tchaoudjo and Tyokossi warriors went to deliver the products of their slave raiding expeditions; waiting there for the organization of caravans that would follow the paths along the Mono River taking the captives to the coast. Other information also suggests the northern origin (northern Togo, northern Bénin, Burkina Faso) of these slaves – for example the pierced nose of both sexes and the pierced ears of the males.
> (Adotevi 2001:222, translated from the French)

The generic importance of Tchamba as a major slave exporting center was indeed materialized in an interesting sway. While summarizing how domestic slaves were treated on the Slave Coast, Adotevi (2001:128) quotes extensively from Wilson

(1986:218-240), who notes that the slave status of domestic servants was materialized by the presence of a brass bracelet worn on the upper left arm. This bracelet was called "*Tchambaga*" --literally, "Tchamba iron". Gayibor (1997:240) also notes that most of the coastal groups that participated in the slave trade and who possessed many slaves venerate a divinity named "Tchamba," symbol of their rich past.

The commercial route that led from Tchamba to the coast has been described by Westermann (1935:285) and Gayibor (1997:242, 291, 313). Using the 1:500,000-scale map of Togo published to celebrate Togo's independence in 1960 as a reference point, this north-south route can be described in some detail (Figures 1-3). It was linked to the Hausa kola route as it headed to the northeast of Tchamba via Kri-Kri (Adjeide), Aledjo-Kura, and Djugu. To the south of Tchamba (Kasselem), the route passed through Alibi, Bago (Bagou, Bango), Issati, Tchekita (Sikita), Kpessi on the Mono River, Kokote (Kokoti), Togolo (Agodjolololo?), Awagome (Wagome) and Atakpame. Atakpame was a major slave market in the region and is known to have provided domestic slaves for places like Notse (Gayibor 1997:175). From Atakpame, the route headed southeast back toward the Mono River to Sagada (a major salt market near Tohoun east of Notse) and Tetetu, and then southward through the Togodo region along the Mono River, and then, depending upon the season, by land or by canoe from Tokpli to the slave trading coastal communities of Aneho (Petit Popo), Agoué, Porto Seguro, Grand Popo and Ouidah (Whydah), whose slave trading with Brazil continued until the late 19th century. Gayibor (1997:242) also suggests that slaves were sometimes brought along the Tchamba route via Atakpame to the slave market at Kpogame on the northwest edge of Lake Togo and were then transferred to Porto Seguro (Figures 2 and 4; see below).

It is interesting to note that there is a village about 10 km southwest of Bago called Odonko which may be a deformation of *ndonko*, the Akan word for a slave obtained from the "gurunshi" regions of northern Ghana (Lovejoy 1982:271). The term *ndonko* was also used for slaves by people from southeastern Ghana and southwestern Togo (Jeannine de Barros, March 2009, p.c.).

Tchamba was clearly a major market for slaves and other products. When did this slave route to the coast first develop and when did it end? Tchamba was founded in the early-to-mid 18th century, but it may not have become a major slave market until the 19th century. There may have been an alternate route from Agbandi, perhaps after the creation of Didaure (Sokode) by the Kotokoli (see below). In addition, slaves could have been taken by Djerma mercenaries into Ghana via the Fazao Mountains. As to when the trade ended along the Tchamba route, Strickrodt (2004:226-227) argues that the trans-Atlantic slave trade came virtually to a halt along the Western Slave Coast in late 1863, with the last major slave traders leaving Agoué in 1867. However, Adotevi's (2001:132) study of the oral traditions and genealogies of communities involved in the

slave trade near the coast suggests the trade across the Atlantic continued until as late as the 1890s. While it is clear that the slave markets of Salaga and Kete-Kratchi and in coastal Togo did indeed continue into the early 20th century (see above), it is less clear that slaves could have been shipped across the Atlantic this late in the century from Ghana, Togo or Bénin.

From the Kotokoli Paramount Chiefdom to Agbandi to Atakpame

Based on the evidence discussed earlier, there was a slave market on the Yumabwa stream at the southern end of the Kotokoli territory. It has not been possible to situate this on the available maps, but it was probably located in the Mo River valley (Figure 3). Those slaves that were not shipped across the Fazao Mountains were apparently sent south of Blitta to a slave market at Agbandi. Fazao was also apparently connected to the southern route from Tchamba both via Bago to the east and Agbandi to the southeast. Commercial goods and possibly slaves from Tchamba could have passed from Bago to Fazao to the west or moved south from Bago to Agbandi via Issati to Kpessi or directly to Kpessi without going through Agbandi (Figures 2 and 3).

Von Doering (1895:255) presents an overview of the importance of Tchamba and the Fazao region based on what he had learned in June of 1894:

> I have learned [from others]. . . that the route Fasugu-Kratyi [Fazao – Kete-Kratchi] is now surpassed in terms of its commercial traffic by another route . . . that from Fazao to Pessi [Kpessi]. North of Kpessi, formerly small villages have now become the major localities of Sikita [Tchekita], Bango [Bago] and Tshamba [Tchamba], all larger than Kpessi, with Tchamba as much as "twice the size of Atakpame" . . . One can go directly from Fazao to Bango . . . It's at Tchamba that the Tshayo [Tchaoudjo) and the Hausa go to buy ivory . . . South of Sikita the route is less traveled. From there one goes by Kpessi, Kokoti [Kokote], Gauble [?], Toglolo [Togolo], Pehu [?], and Wagome to Atakpame.
> (Von Doering 1895, as translated by P. Schafer in Gayibor 1997:291)

It is of some interest that the Anyanga of Agbandi and the Kpessi of Kpessi once lived in present-day Ghana but were forced to flee to the east into Togo in the 18th century to escape wars between various competing groups, including the ascending Asante (Gayibor 1997:269-274). The Anyanga are "gwang" in origin (Gayibor 1997:26), a language group that includes the Gonja in the Middle Volta Basin and the Gwa (Gua) of the Lower Volta Basin. Since they migrated from the lower Volta Basin, the Anyanga are likely to be Gwa. The Kpessi, once thought to be Asante in origin, are actually Akim (Akyem), also from southern Ghana (Gayibor 1997:273).

Other peoples in the Atakpame and East Mono region of Togo beside the Kpessi and Agbandi, include Fon and Mahi groups from Savalou in Bénin who migrated west to

escape the ravage of slave raids by the Agbomey Kingdom (Gayibor 1997:278-280), and the Ife (Ana) or Yoruba. The latter are thought to have inhabited the area for many centuries in small numbers, but the Agbomey slave raids during the late 18th and 19th centuries led larger numbers to flee westward to settle first in the mountain refuge of Atakpame, and later in the East Mono region. Atakpame would soon develop its own slave market. Strickrodt (2004:228) quotes a manuscript entitled "Histoire d'Agoué" by Jean Pierucci (1953) which states that "young people from Ouidah and Agoué went to Atakpame with bags of salt, which they bartered for slaves . . . [which were then] re-sold to the slave-traders at Agoué . . ." Gayibor (1997:277) writes of oral traditions collected at Atakpame that speak of a conflict in the mid-19th century, "the Tchetika affair," which describes how Ogbone Kintiki, an important Ana slave merchant from Atakpame, attacked Bago to the east, but was defeated.

Trade on the Togo Slave Coast

The Slave Coast extends from the Volta River in southeastern Ghana to eastern Nigeria, including the coasts of Togo and Bénin. Here we are concerned with the Western Slave Coast from the Volta River eastwards to Lagos area in western Nigeria, corresponding roughly to the Bight of Bénin.

Gayibor (1999:36) has grouped the trading centers from the Volta River to the Mono River in terms of their chronological placement:

- First generation trading centers, which were relatively ephemeral centers during the 17th century that played a role in the early development of slave trading along the coast: the Xwla (Pla) at Xwlaviho (Petit Popo, later Aneho), the Fanti at Attomé (Gumkope), and, the Ga (Guin, Gan) at Abrée (Agbodrafo).

- Second generation trading centers, which were the major centers from the early 18th century until the end of the slave trade in the late 19th century: Anlogan, Keta, Woe, and Aflao in southeastern Ghana; Aneho (Petit Popo) in Togo, and Xwlagan (Grand Popo) in Bénin.

- Third generation trading centers, which during the early-to mid 19th century: Agbodrafo (Porto Seguro) and Agoué.

The primary focus here will be on the pre-colonial trading centers that relate to Togo as defined in this paper, i.e., Porto Seguro, Aneho (Petit Popo), and Agoué (Figure 4).

First Generation Centers and the Ga and Fanti Migrations from the Gold Coast

The Xwla. By the late 16th century, the Xwla (Pla, Hulu), originally from Tado, had settled in the southern Mono River Valley and along to the coast, including at

Figure 4: Slave Trading and Raiding on the Coast of Togo [after Adotevi 2001:123]

Agbanakin, Xwlavixo (Petit Popo, later Aneho), and Xwlagan (Grand Popo). By the early 17th century, they are present along the Slave Coast from the Volta River to Badagry (between Lagos and the Bénin frontier), including the present-day sites of Agbodrafo and Glidji (Pazzi 1979:174; see Gayibor 1997:164-165). Agbanakin, located on the north side of a lagoon near the mouth of the Mono River, was the capital of a Xwla coastal chiefdom or kingdom (Gayibor 1999:39). The Xwla were fisherman who also extracted salt from marshy lagoon. They sold the salt at Xwlagan (Grand Popo) and took it north to be traded at the Sagada salt market or brought it to Tado in the Middle-Mono River valley (Gayibor 1997:166)(see Figure 2). The famous aggrey (akori or Popo) beads were also traded extensively from this coastal region. They were known locally as *futi* or *danmi* and were extracted locally, possibly 40 km from the coast and about 5 km east of Afagnan at Djonukuve (Gayibor 1997:238; Fage 1962) (Figure 4).

During the earliest phase of the slave trade (late 15th -early 17th centuries), the Portuguese imported slaves from the Slave Coast, especially from the Bénin area, and exchanged them for gold on the Gold Coast. It is likely the Xwla were engaged in the slave trade at this time, perhaps at Agbanakin and Xwlagan (Grand Popo). However, no documentation exists to suggest Xwlavixo (Petit Popo) was visited by Europeans prior to the arrival of the Ga in the 1680s (Law 1991:144-145).

The origin of the term Popo, which first appears in European trading documents in the 16th century, has been the subject of some debate (Law 2001a:34-37; Gayibor 1999:40). Law (2001a:34) states that "Popo" was not a name used locally. It may be derived from a Yoruba word referring to those that speak the Gbe group of languages, which includes Xwla among others, and this word may have been picked up from the Yoruba by early Portuguese traders. Or it could be derived from the indigenous word *Kpokpo*, the name of a powerful king of Tado, which at one time held sway over peoples close to the coast, including the Xwla. Gayibor (1999:40) describes its link to the Yoruba word *kpokpo* in a different way. According to oral traditions, the Yoruba king Olupopo (or Olukpokpo) inherited a portion of what is called the Slave Coast, and the word Popo is derived from his name. The term Popo was used by Europeans generically to refer to a section of the slave coast; the distinction between Petit Popo (Aneho) and Grand Popo does not show up until 1659, in a Dutch report, and does not show up on European maps until 1707 (Law 2001a:37; Gayibor 1999:40). Petit Popo was also called a variety of names derived from the Portuguese word *pequeneno*, which means "petit" or little. Deformations of this word would give Pochahonna, Paokahnee, Paccahenny, and Pickaninee (Pickaninny) Popo (Law 2001a:47).

The Fanti at Attomé. Robin Law (2005) notes that European trading ships off the Slave Coast

> regularly brought canoes with them purchased on the Gold Coast, and also hired crews of canoemen there, in order to communicate with the shore. The practice is first documented in Dutch trade in the 1650s [1659], but whether this was a Dutch innovation or copied from earlier Portuguese practice is unclear. Around the same time, Gold Coast merchants began using ocean-going canoes to trade independently with the Slave Coast, buying locally-made beads and cloth for resale on the Gold Coast.
> (Law 2005:251; who also references Law 1989, 1991 and Jones 1995)
>
> In other cases, on the western Slave Coast, canoemen or traders from the Gold Coast established their own independent communities. The best known instance is "Little Popo" [Petit Popo] . . . This was a settlement of canoemen from Elmina, first attested in the contemporary record in the 1650s . . .
> (Law 2005:252)

Law (2001a:38, 41, 45-46, 52) identifies Attomé with Petit Popo. Gayibor (1999:38-39) disagrees, placing Attomé a few hundred meters from today's Gumkope, 0.5 mile west of Petit Popo (see Gayibor 2001:25), suggesting it was an ephemeral settlement.

Abreé and the Creation of the Ga (Gen, Guin) Kingdom at Glidji. The Accra area of southern coastal Ghana was a major trading center in the 17th century. It was controlled by the Ga kingdom. However, in the 1670s, the Ga kingdom was seriously threatened by the expansion of the Akwamu from the coastal interior. Wars against the Akwamu between 1677 to1682 led many Ga (and their Akim allies) to flee westward. According to Gayibor (2001:21-26), the first emplacement of the fleeing Ga was at the location of today's Gumkope where the Ga king, Ofori, soon set up residence. His chief general Saffery settled 2-3 miles to the west near present-day Agbodrafo (Porto Seguro) at a placed called Abreé. Foli Bebe is said to have replaced Saffery at Abreé and became the new king of the Ga in ca. 1695. Shortly afterward, it is thought he moved the Ga royal residence to Glidji, 10 km to the east on the north shore of the lagoon. Law (2001a:40, 45-46) disagrees with the location of Abreé, identifying it with Petit Popo, which would imply there was no tentative residence at Gumkope. Law (2001a:37) places Fanti fishermen and canoemen at Petit Popo in the 1650s before the arrival of the Ga, which he argues occurs in the 1680s, whereas Gayibor (1997:259; 2001:29) has the Fanti arrival after the founding of Glidji.

According to Law (2005:253-255), the two communities retained distinct identities until at least the 1740s when the people of Glidji were referred to as the "Accras." Ga was the language at Glidji and Fanti the language at Aneho, but over time, a new "creole" language emerged that consists of the syntax of Ga and primarily the lexicon (vocabulary) of the Watchi dialect of Ewé (Ako and de Barros 1969, 2006). This creole

language and the people who speak it were given the label “Mina” by Europeans, but locally the people call themselves Ga (Guin).

The Second Generation Trading Center at Aneho (Petit Popo)-Glidji

Of the second generation trading centers, only Aneho (Petit Popo) is on the Togo coast. No attempt will be made to discuss the historical details of the associated Glidji kingdom and its companion community of Aneho. The focus is on the history of slave trading.

After its founding in the 1680s, Glidji asserted its power over the local Xwla fishermen and the Watchi farmers of the interior. It soon began to attract European slave traders and its early kings (Foli Bebe and his son Assiongbon Dandjin) aggressively established the Genyi (Ga or Guin) kingdom as a major power along the coast during the 18th century. According to Gayibor (1999:40; 2001:27), Genyi’s authority extended from the Mono River to Aflao (just west of modern Togo) with occasional authority extending to the Volta River. Its influence over Keta was strong between 1731 and 1772 with intermittent control from 1784 to 1800 (Gayibor 2001:27-28). Its influence also extended inland in a triangle that included Anfoin, Aklaku, and Afagnan (Gayibor 1997:261, Map 35; see Figure 4). By the early 1680s (Law 2001a:43), European powers, including the Royal African Company (RAC) of England, began trading with Glidji via what would develop into the commercial town of Petit Popo, later known as Aneho, originally settled by the Fanti fishermen and canoemen. Glidji was situated on the northern side of the coastal lagoon while Petit Popo was on the coastal beach zone on the southern side of the lagoon. In the 18th century, the king of Glidji appointed a “chief of the beach” (*aputaga*), a hereditary post chosen from among the Adjigo clan, descendants of the Fanti canoe merchant men (Gayibor 1997:227). The *aputaga* supervised the slave trade, collecting various taxes (*aputanu*) from the European slave traders for the king of Glidji (Gayibor 1997:227; 1999:40). This post was similar to the *yovogan* who supervised trade at Ouidah for the kings of Agbomey beginning in 1730 (Gayibor 1997:227ff).

In 1784, a German doctor working for the Brandenbergs of Denmark, Paul Isert (1793, cited in Gayibor 2001b:106ff), described the Aneho area as a major slave trading center with five principal quarters, each with its own caboceer (from the Portuguese *cabociero*) or *aputaga*. He also noted the presence of houses with two or three stories, like that of Akue of Degbenu (Gayibor 2001b:110-111; Adotevi 2001:131). In 1788, Bioern (1797:225-227) obtained their names: Lathe [Latevi Awoku, ancestor of the Lawsons], Tette-Obrim, Akoi [Akue, founder of Degbenu], Odom and Quam [probably the traditional chief at Aneho], as well as Odo and the notable Ogie-Koram de Labodee. Many had their own section(s) of town and exercised influence on the interior Watchi peoples (see Gayibor 1999:41). Using several sources, Strickrodt (2004:217) estimates the population of Aneho during the mid-to-late 19th century at between 4000 and 5000

people. Jones (1999:125) also suggests that Little Popo (Aneho) had about 5000 people during this period, whereas Glidji's was at least 1200.

Two of the major trading families at Petit Popo were the Lawsons and the de Souzas.

Latevi Awoku and the Lawson Family. In the late 18th century, the presence of Latevi Awoku, ancestor of the Lawson family, is described by European traders as early as 1782. Isert met Latevi in 1784, and perhaps again in 1785. He described him as a man of modest origins who had become a caboceer at Petit Popo; and that he spoke three European languages (English, Portuguese and Danish) and currently had sons in school in England and Portugal (Isert 1992:62, cited in Strickrodt 2001:76). Latevi apparently developed a relationship with the English while being trained on an English slave ship. He eventually became so powerful he sometimes defied the king of Glidji. According to the archives of Thomas Miles as discussed by Strickrodt (2001), Latevi was tightly linked with the English RAC factory (trading post) at Petit Popo. The post was centered in his house and he furnished its domestic slaves; he sold slaves to the trading post; he provided commercial advice; and he settled issues between the factory and the town. He also worked with other traders, boat captains and trading posts, selling slaves to them and providing many services -- food, sailors or canoemen for travel along the coast, and help in affairs of the heart with local women (Strickrodt 2001:78-79). Latevi died in 1795 during a war against Grand Popo that led to a serious defeat for Petit Popo. Latevi was succeeded by his son Akuete Zankli, who took on the name George Latty Lawson, after an English captain named George A. Lawson (Strickrodt 2001:76-77). After victories over his rivals in the early 19th century, he would become the *de facto* chief of Aneho until his death in 1857, eclipsing the power of Glidji. The Lawson family would remain a force in Aneho into the colonial period (Gayibor 1997:341)

Francisco Felix de Souza and the de Souzas. According to Law (2004), who has assembled some useful information on de Souza and his sons, Francisco de Souza was a major figure in both the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the history of Ouidah and neighboring slave trading ports. He was a Brazilian, possibly part Amerindian and part Portuguese (Law and Mann 1999:324ff), who was probably born in Bahia. He first came to the Slave Coast between 1792 and 1795 as a private trader; he subsequently returned to Brazil only to return once again as a private trader in 1800. Family tradition states he settled at Petit Popo in 1800 and married Jijibu, the daughter of Chief Comlangan, who bore his first son Isidoro in 1802, but he apparently had trading connections at Ouidah as well. Business problems caused him to take on various jobs at the Portuguese fort in Ouidah between 1803 and ca. 1806, and he eventually was governor of the fort for awhile. He then returned to private business, perhaps having trading posts again at both Petit Popo and Ouidah. In 1818, he supported a successful coup against the King Adandozan of Agbomey, who was replaced by Gezo. King Gezo

invited De Souza to return to Ouidah to become a caboceer for the king of Agbomey. De Souza became quite wealthy as caboceer supplying slaves for the trans-Atlantic trade (mostly to Brazil) and pioneered the pattern of resident slave merchants owning their own slave ships. He also pioneered the use of canoes for communication between lagoons to the west (to Porto Seguro on Lake Togo) and to the east of Ouidah (to Lagos), which would enable slave traders to evade British naval squadrons trying to stop them (Law 2004:200; see Law 1989; Adotevi 2001:123; Strickrodt 2004:216). By the early 19th century, the power of the king at Glidji had virtually ceased to exist, the power shifting to the economically powerful Adjigo and Akagban clans. In the early 1820s (1821 says Gayibor 1999:42; 1822-1823 says Law 2004:201), de Souza supported George Lawson and the Akagban clan in a civil war against the *aputaga*s of the Adjigo clan linked to Glidji and the chief of Aneho, Comlangan. The latter was defeated and soon founded the village of Agoué 10 km down the coast to the east (see below). In the 1820s and 1830s, de Souza apparently focused on the lagoon route east of Ouidah at Godomey, Cotonou and Lagos.

With the passage of the Equipment Act of 1839, which gave British cruisers the right to board Portuguese vessels that might be outfitted to transport slaves, de Souza pioneered the dispersal of trading activities from Ouidah in order to evade the British (Law 2001b:28). In 1840, he sent his eldest son Isidoro to create a factory at Ajuda, a long stretch of beach granted to him by the *aputaga*, Sekpon of Aneho or Petit Popo (Gayibor 1999:40). Other traders settled at both Petit and Grand Popo soon afterwards. These ports continued to receive many slaves from Ouidah via the coastal lagoon (Law 2001b:28). Due to advancing age, de Souza did very little slave trading after 1845, leaving the trade largely to his sons Isidoro at Petit Popo (1840-1849), Antonio at both Petit Popo and Agoué (ca. 1844), and Ignacio in Ouidah (Law 2004:203; Strickrodt 2004:222). He died a relatively poor man in 1849 due to accumulating debts to merchants in Brazil and Cuba and to King Gezo, primarily because 22 of his ships had been seized by the British (Law 2004:203-204). At his death, however, King Gezo gave him a funeral suited to a Dahomey chief, from which the myth developed that he was the Chacha of Ouidah during much of his life (Law 2004:207). His sons Isidoro and Antonio continued as merchants with Isidoro in Godomey as Chacha and Antonio in Cotonou (Law 2004:202).

Third Generation Trading Centers at Agoué and Porto Seguro

Agoué. After Comlagan of Aneho was defeated in the early 1820s, he fled and founded the village of Agoué 10 km down the coast to the east (Figures 2 and 4). In 1822, Brazil seceded from Portugal and its independence was recognized in 1825. Brazil banned the slave trade north of the Equator in 1826, but in practice, slave traffic increased with West Africa (Law 2004:195; 2001b:24). Agoué did not really take off as a trading port until the 1835 Malé slave revolt in Bahia. The revolt led to the expulsion to

West Africa of a number of free blacks suspected of complicity (Law 2001b:24; Strickrodt 2004:215, 227). According to Pierucci (1953), about 100 families arrived at Agoué between 1835 and 1870, with the principal waves coming in 1835, 1844-1846 and 1850 (Gayibor 1999:42). These returnees often became wealthy merchants involved in both the interior and trans-Atlantic slave trade. Many established large farms north of Agoué on the other side of the lagoon where slave labor was used to cultivate oil palms and vegetables (Strickrodt 2004:228-229). These traders owned an important number of both domestic and field slaves; for example, Joachim d'Almeida had 73 slaves undergo baptism in 1855, and Agostinho de Freitas 22 and 16 slaves in 1855 and 1857, respectively (Strickrodt 2004:229, citing Sastre 2000:6 and Pelofy 2002:13,18). D'Almeida was also known for his two story house in Agoué, which reportedly had secret areas for hiding slaves (Adotevi 2001:131ff). Strickrodt (2001:217), using various sources, suggests Agoué's population during the mid-to-late 19th century was between 6000 and 9000 people. Jones (1999:125) uses a figure of about 5000.

Many important families originating from Brazil and elsewhere were involved in the slave trade at Agoué and other ports, including the de Souzas (see above), Jose Francisco dos Santos (Ouidah, Petit Popo and Agoué), Domingo Mustich (a Spaniard, at Petit Popo and Agoué), João Goncalves Baêta (the Volta region and then Agoué), Francisco Olympio da Silva (the Volta region, Agoué, and Porto Seguro), Francisco Jose de Medeiros (Agoué), Samuel da Costa Soares and João Soares Pereira (Ouidah and Agoué), and finally, Pedro Pinta da Silveira and Joachim d'Almeida at Agoué (Strickrodt 2004:221-226; Gayibor 1999:43). However, Law and Mann (1999:324) remind us that this "Brazilian community" at Agoué and elsewhere on the Slave Coast was much more heterogeneous than it first appears. It was mixed by race, class, and geographical origins, and included white or mulatto Brazilians who married local women and thereby created "Afro-Brazilian" families, such as Francisco de Souza; former slaves who re-migrated to West Africa as free persons, such as Joachim d'Almeida; and Africans who had never been to Brazil but took on Brazilian culture as slaves or clients of Brazilian settlers on the West African coast, such as Pedro Felix d'Almeida who was from Petit Popo but came to de Souza's household in Ouidah and became literate in Portuguese (Law and Mann 1999:324-325).

Joachim d'Almeida was a Mahi from central Bénin who had been shipped as a slave to Bahia. He was purchased by a slave ship captain, Joaquim Manoel d'Almeida, whose name he later assumed (Strickrodt 2004:223). After being freed, he landed in Agoué in 1835 and began slave trading between Bahia and the Bight of Bénin, and finally settled permanently in Agoué in 1845, remaining until his death in 1857. He was known locally as Zoki Azata -- Zoki from Joachim and Azata (meaning "story" in Ouidah) referring to his two story house (Adotevi 2001:131ff). He soon made himself a fortune buying and

selling slaves locally, but also by shipping slaves himself across the Atlantic – and he was only one to do so at Agoué (Strickrodt 2004:223). It was also d'Almeida who created a slave-holding center and farming village inland from the coast named Atoeta (Gayibor 1999:43-44; see Figure 4). D'Almeida died in 1857 (Strickrodt 2004:223). Gayibor (1999:43) discusses family oral traditions which describe a commercial dispute in 1860[?] between d'Almeida and Pedro Pinta da Silveira (known locally as Pedro Kodjo Landjekpo) led to a series of attacks between Aneho and Agoué that resulted in destruction on both sides, including the burning of Agoué twice, with peace finally restored in 1862. Pedro Kodjo eventually settled permanently in Aneho and aggressively competed against the Lawson family. Slave traders would remain very active in Agoué until at least 1867 (Strickrodt 2004:227).

Porto Seguro (Agbodrafo). In 1834, the Akagban clan and the Lawsons were again in conflict with the Adjigo clan, to the detriment of the latter, leading to the departure of Chief Kodjo Agbossou to the west where he founded Agbodrafo, later known as Porto Seguro (Gayibor 1997:341; however, Adotevi 2001:131, says it was Chief Assiakoley)(see Figures 2 and 4). The name means "sure port" in Portuguese and was probably selected because of the potential easy transport from the lagoon (Lake Togo) across the narrow coastal beach strand to the coast (Gayibor 1999:38). Slave trading at Agbodrafo started off slowly, but became much more important after 1850 as a place to quickly embark slaves, thereby avoiding British cruisers (Gayibor 1999:38-39). One of the major sources of slaves for Porto Seguro were the Ewé populations in the lower Haho-Zio river basin which were gathered in Kpogame and then shipped via the market at Dekpo across Lake Togo (Adotevi 2001:123-124; see Figure 4). The population of Porto Seguro in 1884 was about 4000 (Strickrodt 2004:217).

Francisco Olympio Silva, who worked as a slave trader near Keta for 15 years after his arrival in Africa from Bahia in 1850 at age 17, later moved to Porto Seguro where he is present by at least 1863 (Amos 2001:294-295). He later moved to Agoué, built a home and dropped the name Silva. After 1865, he made the successful transition from slave trader to planter and commercial trader, developing many plantations in Agoué and Grand Popo (Amos 2001:296). His son Octaviano Olympio would become a successful merchant at Be (now part of Lome) in the 1880s. In fact, in 1887, Octaviano used his influence with the new German colonial governor, Jesko von Puttkamer, to get the Germans to expand their power into the Kpalime area to ensure the safety of the Hausa traders coming from Ghana (Amos 2001:300-301). It is very likely he did this to ensure a supply of labor for his plantations, a supply which at that time (as we have seen above) was in fact slave labor disguised as migrant laborers (Johnson 1986:351). Octaviano's nephew, Sylvanus Olympio, would become the first President of Togo.

Slave Trading on the Coast and Slave Origins

Gayibor (1997:229-251) discusses the basic elements of the slave trade on the Slave Coast at some length. The primary products exported included gold (from Brazil and the Gold Coast), ivory (from Keta and Aneho), palm oil, gum, cloth (especially from Ouidah), locally made aggrey or akori beads, food (cereals, meat, poultry, vegetables, and tubers to feed traders and their slaves), and of course, slaves. Slaves were sold as domestic and field slaves along the coast and were exported to the Americas. Imported products included fire arms and accessories; metals (iron, copper, brass, lead) and metal containers and utensils; cowry shells and beads; tobacco pipes, hats, and fancy clothes; wine and liquor; textiles; and Brazilian tobacco. The media of exchange included cowries, gold dust, iron bars and slaves.

According to Gayibor (1997:239), documents which refer to slaves coming from the Slave Coast (which extends from the Volta to eastern Nigeria), included the following ethnic group names: Foin (Fon), Popo (Petit and Grand Popo?), Juda (Ouidah), Arada (Allada), Foëda (Xwéda), Adia (Aja), Thiamba (Tchamba), Kotokoli, Barba (Bariba), Nago and Oyo (Yoruba), Ado (Otta) of Nigeria, Malais (Hausa), Tacoua (Nupe), Bénin (see Labarthe 1803:144; Curtin 1969:189; Debien 1974:39-68; Manning 1979:125-129; 1982:29-33). Some of these names refer to specific ethnic groups, but others are simply place names for slave markets or slave trading towns. The list does suggest, however, that slaves sometimes came from hundreds of kilometers inland from the coast, including from Hausaland in northern Nigeria and from northern Togo. The Tchamba route has been documented above.

Gayibor (1997:240-241) cites Manning 1979:31-32) who estimated that the primary slave reservoirs extended at least 100 km from the coast, especially at Ouidah, and that 90% of the slaves exported from the Slave Coast were Aja or Yoruba -- with the Aja being in the majority between 1640 and 1820, and the Yoruba in the majority after 1820. Voltaic peoples, such as the Bariba from northern Bénin and peoples from the Atakora Mountains in Togo and Bénin, were third in rank, followed by some Nupe and Hausa from the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century – suggesting an important through trade from the northern savanna beginning in the late 18th century (Lovejoy 2000:102). Moreover, Lovejoy (2000:102; 302-303) observes that many of those classified as Aja and Yoruba were also of northern origin:

> While accepting Manning's analysis of the size of the slave population identified as Aja, it is possible that some slaves of more northern origin were also exported, including acculturated slaves of non-Aja origin, slaves labeled Aja by mistake, slaves called Aja because they came from ports controlled by Aja, as well as Aja war captives and slave descendants. Although it is likely that there was a disproportionate number of Aja and related Gbe speakers, Manning's analysis

> may underrepresent the number of slaves who spoke Yoruba, as well as the number of Hausa and other northerners; see Law 1977:217-228, 240-241; Lovejoy 1994.
> (Lovejoy 2000:303)

Lovejoy's discussion is buttressed by Strickrodt's (2004:228, 232-237) identification of freed slaves returned from Brazil to Agoué. Although Borghero's (1997:124) journal of his travels to Dahomey in the early 1860s states that nearly all of the returned free blacks at Agoué were Yorubas, Strickrodt found that out of his sample of 67, only 23 were Yorubas, along with 13 Mahi, 9 Hausa, 4 Fon, and one each for Nupe, Bariba, Dassa, Egba, and Savi, with the rest remaining unidentified as to origin.

Other sources cited by Gayibor (1997:241-242) mention the Anlo of southeastern Ghana; the Ewé of the southwestern frontier areas of Togo south of Kpalimé (Agu, Tové, Agotimé) who were sent to Keta (Ghana) or Aneho (Petit Popo) for export; and, the Watchi and the Adja of the Lower Mono River Valley (Kea 1969:56; Bioern 1797-1798; Bosman 1705:348), who were sent to Aneho and Grand Popo. As for the slaves' destination, Law (2001b:22) estimates that over the entire history of the trade along the Bight of Bénin (Volta River to Lagos), 60% were exported towards Brazil, especially to the province of Bahia.

Adotevi (2001), based in part on Wilson (1986), has also studied the situation of slavery and slave ethnic origins along the Togolese coast. As noted earlier, when local coastal populations were asked about the origin of slaves from deep in the interior, i.e., those coming from Tchamba or other points north, they mentioned the Adja of the Middle-Mono River; the Kotokoli (Tem), Kabiye and Moba from northern Togo; the Mossi from Burkina Faso; the Mahi and Bariba from south-central and northern Bénin, respectively; and the Yoruba from Nigeria (Adotevi 2001:122,127).

As both Adotevi (2001:117-121) and Gayibor (1997:239-240) emphasize, it is often very difficult to get local populations to admit that people from adjacent populations were used as slaves or that some members of their own family are descended from former slaves. However, Adotevi (2002:123) and Gayibor (1997:242) both recount the story of the slave trader Bosman (1705:351) who in 1697 came from the Gold Coast to Aneho and was only able to buy three slaves in three days. He was told that if he waited three more days they could bring him 200. He pretended to accept and then left for Ouidah only to find out that more than 200 slaves were indeed brought to coast, and given his absence, they were sold to the Portuguese. This suggests that they must have been able to tap local slave reserves to respond so quickly. Adotevi (2001:123) and Gayibor (1997:242) conclude that these reserves would have included people captured among the Watchi farmers living north of the coastal lagoon and lake system or the Adja, Pla

(Xwla) and Peda (Xweda) of the lower Mono River valley (see Figure 4). This is supported by Bosman (1705:348) who makes a similar observation.

Adotevi (2001:123-124) also emphasizes the importance of the Ewé reservoir in the lower Zio and Haho river basin between Tsevie (perhaps even Notse) and Lake Togo as another source of both domestic and exported slaves (Figure 4). According to informants at Kpogame and Dekpo, the slave raiders were actually from the area raided, but are likely to have included coastal raiders as well. They would either capture isolated groups of individuals or capture the slaves of other raiders as they were taking their slaves to Kpogame (Kpome). Kpogame appears to have been the holding place for slaves that were sold at the market of Blokoligome at Dekpo along the actual shores of Lake Togo (Figure 4). Adotevi (2001:124) points out that Dekpo was the major source of slaves sold to the king and notables of Porto Seguro, and that the post of "Dekpoga" (chief of Dekpo) was created to watch over the king's commercial affairs at Dekpo, similar to the *aputagas* at Aneho and the *Yovogan* in Ouidah. Adotevi (2001:124) concludes with the interesting point that slaves raided from the coastal interior were the most likely candidates to be exported into the trans-Atlantic trade system because they might be easily tempted to flee, whereas those coming from northern Togo would be dissuaded due to the great distance and unknown areas needed to be traversed to their homeland.

As noted earlier, the village of Atoueta about 10 km north of Agoué, was created by the "Afro-Brazilian," Joachim d'Almeida, in about 1835 for two purposes: as a holding center in the interior for slaves who would be eventually transported to Ouidah or Aneho, and as a farm worked by these same slaves. The slaves produced corn and vegetables for their own food, but especially cassava, which was converted to "gari" flour and tapioca for export to Brazil (Adotevi 2001:130-131). After 1840, some of these slave trader plantations would have begun to convert to the production of palm oil (see below).

The types of slaves used in coastal Togo included domestic slaves, including special especially trusted servants; field slaves, especially on the developing palm oil plantations after 1840; small numbers of young female slaves who were sent to religious convents (*vodusi*); temporary slaves working off a debt (*Awobame*); and, those sent across the Atlantic (Adotevi 2001:124-132; see also Wilson 1986). The exportation of slaves into the trans-Atlantic trade began in the late 17th century at Aneho and reached its peak in Aneho, Agoué, and Porto Seguro during the first half of the 19th century, when slaves were sold to both Europeans and Brazilians (Adotevi 2001:130).

In terms of the actual quantity of slaves exported, Lovejoy (2000:55) estimates that from 1676-1730, 730,000 slaves were exported from the Bight of Bénin, representing 42 per cent of total slaves exported from Africa during this period; however, for the 18th century as a whole, the figure is only 20 percent. The average for the period 1650-1800 was

35% (Lovejoy 2000:81). The percentage of slaves coming from the region between Keta and Grand Popo contributed relatively little to these totals (compared to Ouidah and Lagos). Law (2005:255) notes that this region only accounted for about six percent of the slave exports from the Slave Coast (see Eltis et al. 1999:20, Table 3; see also Law and Mann 1999:312). Gayibor (1997:242) and Adotevi (2001:130) come to similar conclusions about the relative unimportance in terms of sheer numbers of slaves.

According to the estimates of Manning (1979, 1982) as reviewed by Wilson (1986), the average number of slaves exported per year from Aneho (Petit Popo) was about 300 (Adotevi 2001:130). This fits well with factory agent Thomas Miles' estimate in 1793 that he could deliver 350 slaves and nine tons of ivory from Petit Popo per year (Strickrodt 2001:65). Bosman (1705:351) noted he would have to wait longer at Aneho to buy 500 slaves than he would for 2000 at Ouidah; however, he also noted (ibid, 354) that under a previous king he was able to get 500 slaves in 11 days (cited in Gayibor 1997:242). However, Strickrodt (2001:70-71) emphasizes that the real importance of Petit Popo was its ability to coordinate communication along the coastal lagoon system and to facilitate the rapid movement of slaves to their points of embarkation, especially after 1840.

The End of the Slave Trade

As we have previously noted, the slave trade on the Slave Coast continued throughout much of the 19th century. This was facilitated by Brazil's independence after 1825. However, the British slowly began to tighten the noose to choke off the remaining trade. In 1839, the Equipment Act permitted British cruisers to board Portuguese (and Brazilian) ships to check for evidence of slave equipment (and slaves). In the 1840s, some traders began to invest in the production of palm oil, but initially used the palm oil to buy cloth to exchange for slaves (Law 2004:205; 2001b:31). In 1850-51, the British bombarded Ouidah and concluded anti-slavery treaties with coastal chiefdoms in 1852, including Agoué, and Petit and Grand Popo (Strickrodt 2004:220). As a result, the 1850s and 1860s saw a major move toward substituting palm oil for slaves as a trans-Atlantic export (Strickrodt 2004:225).

The signing of the coastal treaties also led to frantic efforts to try and disembark slaves at various points along the coast between the actual coastal settlements, with many slaves formerly destined for export from Ouidah being sent along the coast of Togo for export. In 1853, Sekko, located five kilometers east of Agoué, became famous as an embarkation point; in 1856, similar shipments of slaves took place between Petit Popo and Agoué; and, similarly between Ouidah and Grand Popo (Strickrodt 2004:220). In addition, slaves were more frequently kept at interior holding points, such as at Kpogame and Atoeta, in order to avoid detection prior to their embarkation. Just as Salaga's slave merchants began to sell slaves inside interior courtyards rather than in

the open market in the late 19th century in order to avoid detection (Johnson 1986:344), slave locations on the Togolese coast were now hidden, as in the case of the second story of d'Almeida's house in Agoué noted earlier. At Porto Seguro, the king had a special house built 500 m west of his residence that had a large underground cave to house slaves prior to their embarkation (Adotevi 2001:132). By 1863, Strickrodt (2004:226) concludes that the illegal slave trade along the Bight of Bénin was over, even though the British recorded continued unsuccessful attempts after this time, with the last of the major traders at Agoué limiting their activities and leaving for Ouidah in 1867. Lovejoy (2000:145-146) is firm in stating that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was over in 1867. However, Adotevi (2001:131), based on oral traditions from Kpagome (Kpome), Dekpo and Tokpli, suggests the trade continued as late as the 1890s. It is more likely, however, that they are describing the interior trade.

Transformations in Slavery

Lovejoy (2000)'s *Transformations in Slavery* examines the transformation of slavery in Africa as a result of the slave trade, especially the trans-Atlantic slave trade. He emphasizes that in much of Africa, particularly in acephalous and weakly to moderately-centralized political entities, slavery was essentially kin-based, where slaves were gradually acculturated and integrated into the kin network over time. Slaves (and pawns) were just another category of dependency that allowed a lineage to expand its members, but the presence of slaves did not significantly alter the basic nature of the society, with slaves performing essentially the same tasks as other lineage members (Lovejoy 2000:12-15). Slavery in the Bassar region of Togo represents a good example (see above). With the large scale of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, however, fundamental social transformations took place in many parts of Africa which resulted in a slave mode of production. In Togo, we see this with the Tyokossi who depended entirely on slavery and the fear of enslavement to guarantee tribute, including even basic foodstuffs as the Tyokossi did not farm. By the late 19th century, the ever-more centralized paramount chiefdom of Tchaoudjo of the Kotokoli (and Tem) began moving in a similar direction, especially with its use of Djerma mercenaries to attack populations for slaves and booty and its participation in the slave market network in northern Togo. And, these Djerma mercenaries often supported their livelihood through their own slave-raiding to obtain slaves for food production (in neighboring Ghana) and for participation in the slave trade itself using routes through Togo to Ghana. Lastly, the increasing growth of slavery was accompanied by a concomitant influx of Muslim merchants and slave traders into a number of northern Togolese towns, such as Mango, Bassar, Kabu, Sokode (Didaure), and Tchamba.

Along the Togo coast, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, Aneho, Agoué and Porto Seguro became increasingly enmeshed not only in the trans-Atlantic trade, but also in the interior slave trade. Increasing numbers of slaves were used as domestic and field

slaves by local merchant and political aristocracies. Slave farms were increasingly created to produce not only food, but also goods for export, such as “gari,” tapioca, and beginning in the 1840s, palm oil. This would continue into the 1880s and beyond after the transformation to “legitimate trade” was complete. This was possible because European colonial powers made a distinction between the trans-Atlantic trade and domestic African slavery which was seen or declared to be relatively benign (Lovejoy 200:141, 254). The slave markets of Salaga and Kete-Kratchi in Ghana, and probably Atakpame and Kpogame and others in coastal Togo, continued to provide slaves or slaves disguised as migrant workers as part of a developing slave mode of production used in coastal oil palm and coconut plantations. Lovejoy (2000:159) suggests that for every slave brought to the coast for export, another was kept as a domestic or field slave, resulting in major increases in population densities along the Slave Coast, including in Togo.

The major increase in the demand for slaves for the trans-Atlantic trade in the 18th and 19th centuries, along with the development of the Sokoto Caliphate in northern Nigeria, resulted in larger numbers of slaves from the northern savanna being exported to the coast and beyond (Lovejoy 2000:102,161-163). This increased demand inevitably created increasing linkages between the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic slave trade systems. Finally, it is apparent that by the early 1800s, slavery and the fear of enslavement had become so pervasive that it had literally transformed the sociocultural psychology of West Africa, including Togo.

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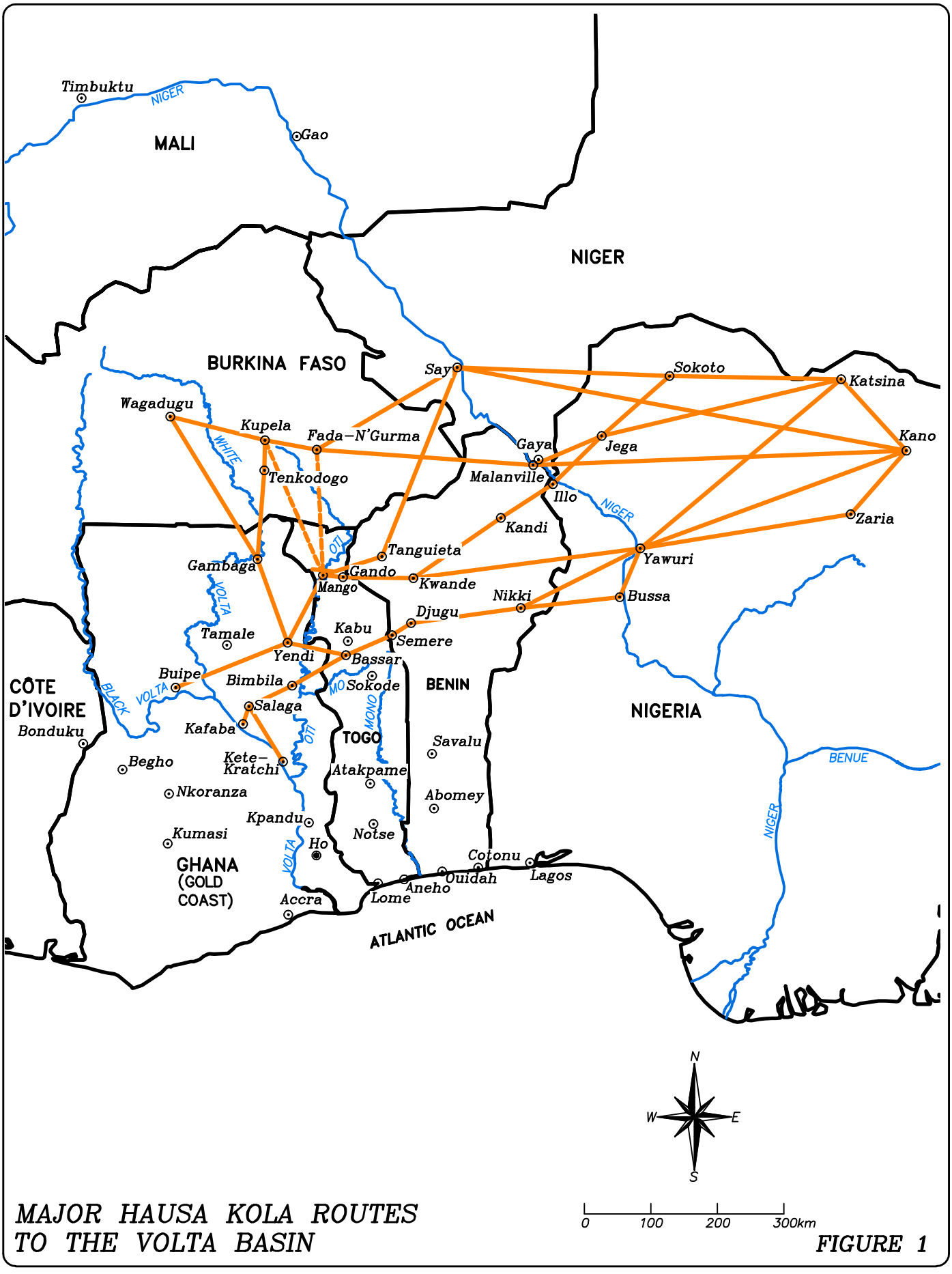
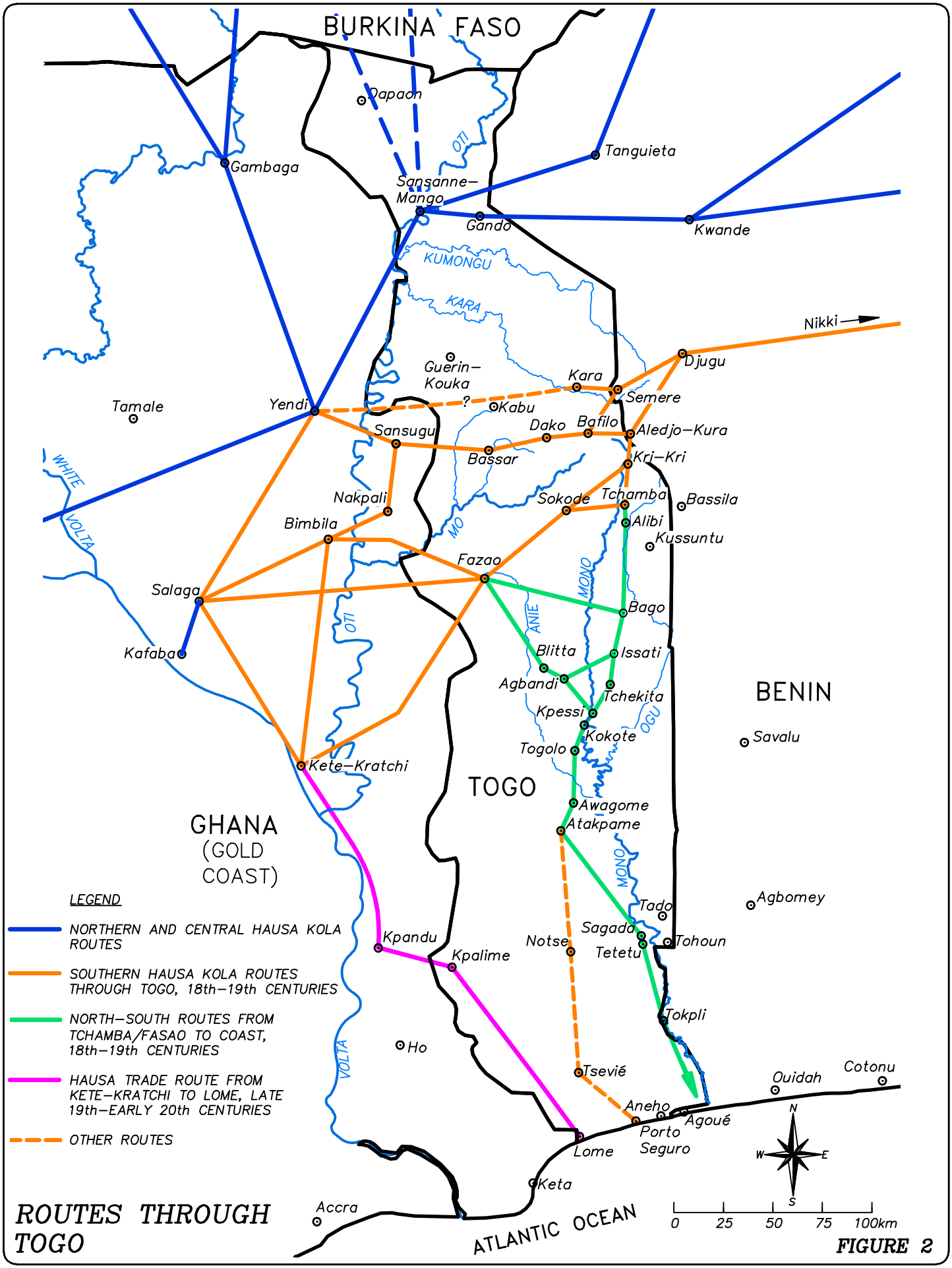


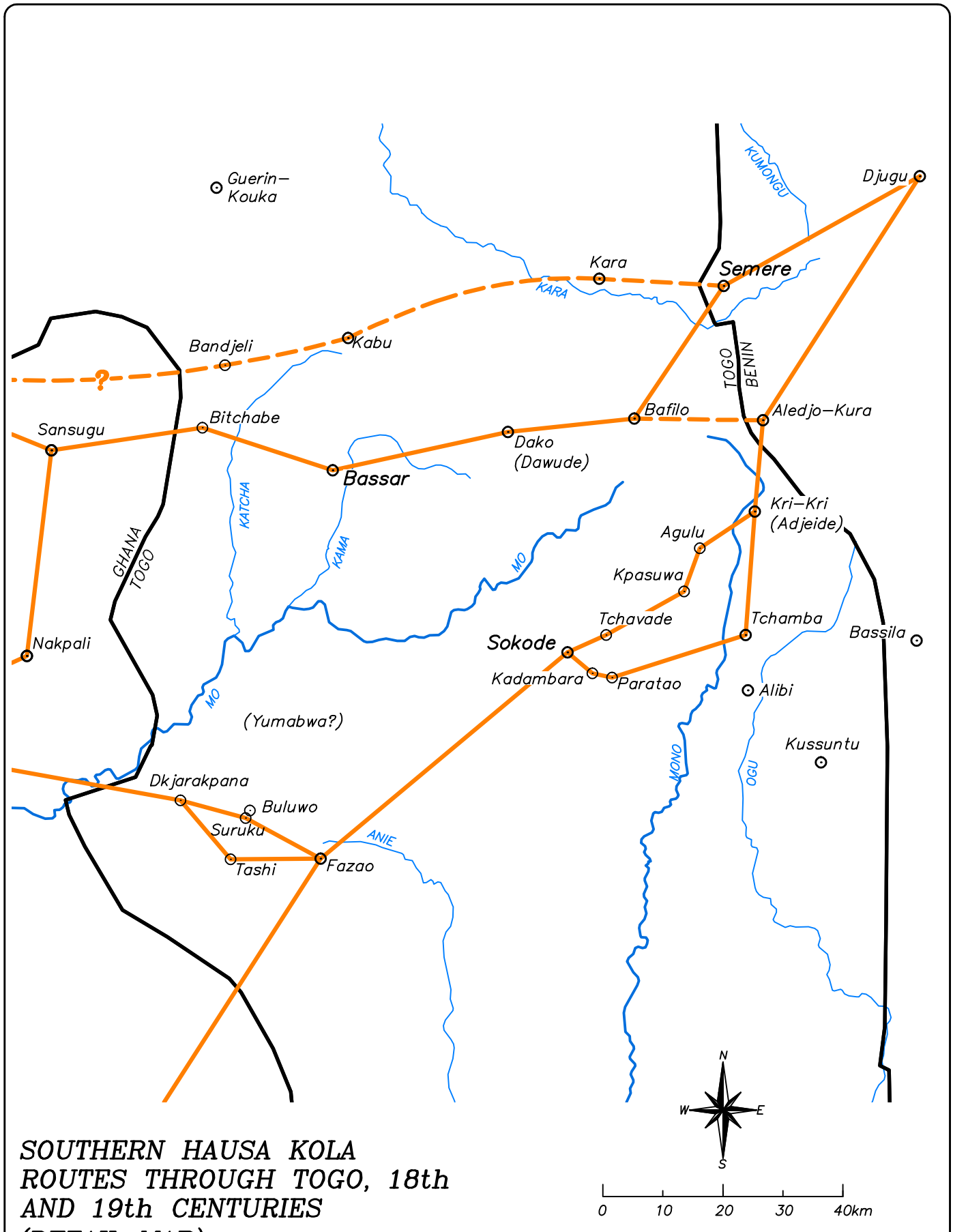
MAJOR HAUSA KOLA ROUTES TO THE VOLTA BASIN

FIGURE 1



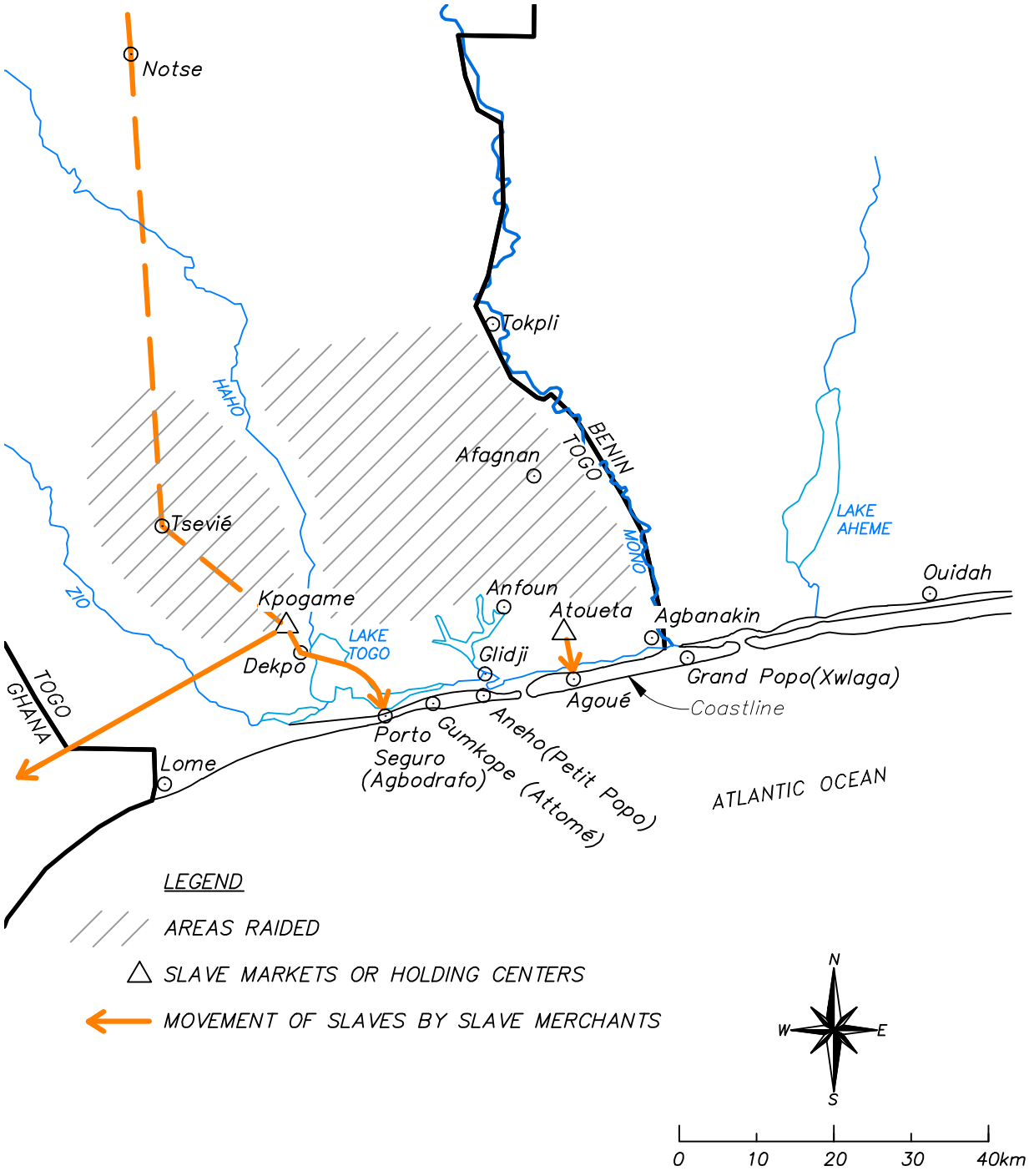
ROUTES THROUGH TOGO

FIGURE 2



SOUTHERN HAUSA KOLA ROUTES THROUGH TOGO, 18th AND 19th CENTURIES (DETAIL MAP)

FIGURE 3

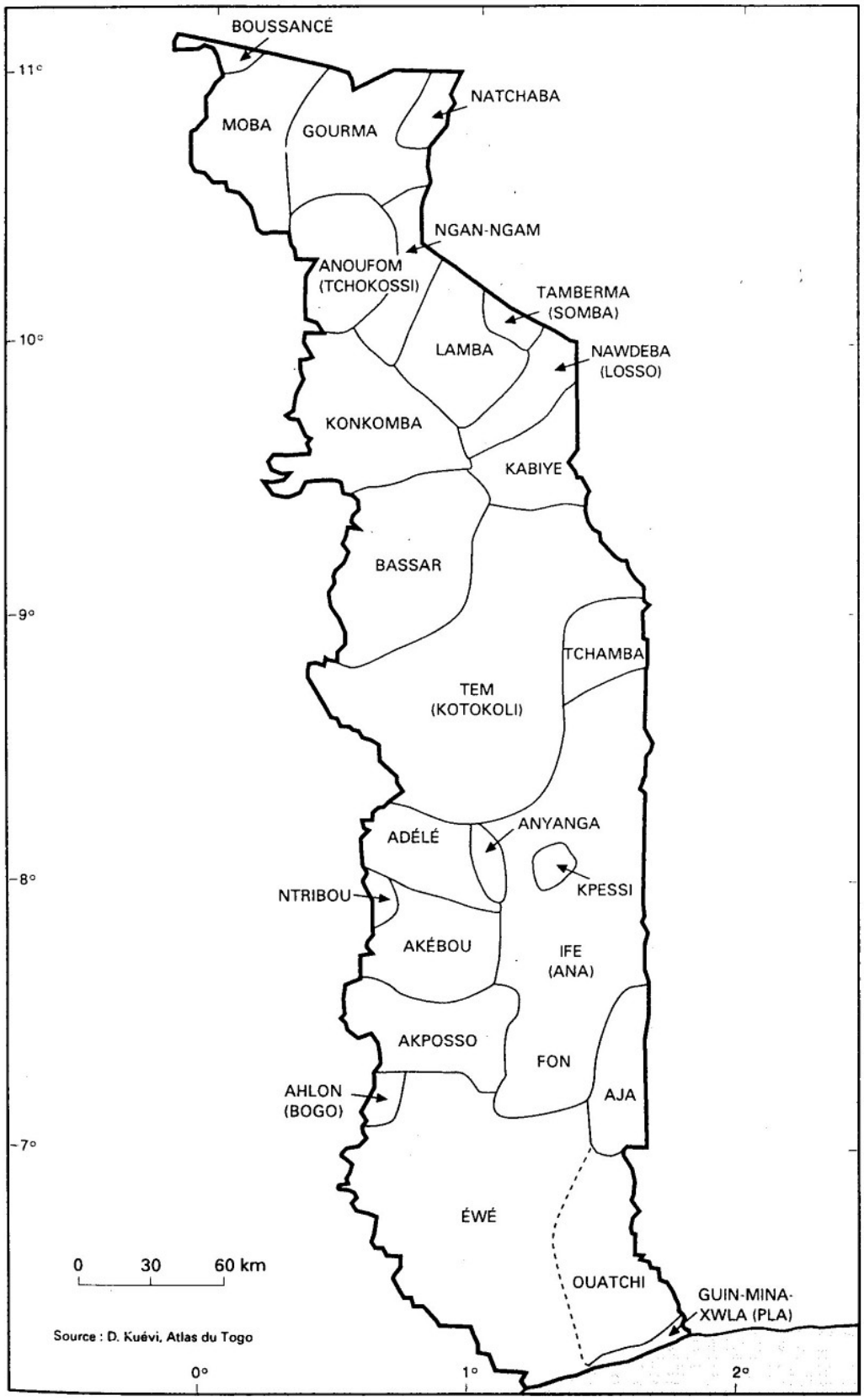


SLAVE TRADING AND RAIDING ON THE COAST OF TOGO

[After Adotevi 2001:123]

FIGURE 4

Carte n° 4 : **Schéma ethnique du Togo**



Source: Gayibor 1997:29 (Histoire des Togolais, Vol. 1)